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ABSTRACT

The history of the growth of public education for the black masses, including topics such as racial attitudes toward black education, the financial problems facing black schools, and the political pressures that led to the development of a system of education for blacks, is traced and discussed in this paper -- specifically as it concerns Savannah, Georgia blacks. The establishment of schools sets the stage for and creates an atmosphere out of which black professionals will develop. Generally professional classes begin to appear among blacks to a substantial degree after the Civil War. The appearance of a class of black professionals depends upon the presence of a permissive educational climate and the development of black educational institutions which evolve chiefly from missionary and philanthropic efforts during the Reconstruction Period. A true class of black professionals does not exist in Savannah, Georgia prior to the 1880's. There had been black teachers, ministers, and physicians in Savannah before 1880, but they grow in number in this decade. In addition, during the 1880's those blacks in the professional classes are largely college graduates. They are conscientious and set the tone of the black community. These professionals often are not only successful at their professions, but also assume positions of leadership in civic affairs. (Author/AM)

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THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR BLACKS,

AND

THE EMERGENCE OF PROFESSIONAL BLACK SAVANNAHIANS
1865 - 1900

Blacks of Chatham County, were as desirous of acquiring education as they were of accumulating wealth. As slaves, they had been denied the opportunity for education. In 1770, Georgia passed a law providing for a fine of $20 for teaching slaves to read and write. This law was followed in 1829 by another that provided for a fine of $500 for any person caught teaching Blacks to read or write, and, as mentioned previously, in some cases the penalty might be a public whipping. Savannah supplemented the state laws in 1833 by adopting an ordinance providing that any person caught teaching Blacks to read and write should be fined $100, and if a Black, be given thirty-nine lashes. In spite of these laws, some whites taught Blacks. Appreciative sailors, for instance, taught Ulysses S. Houston to read and write while he was working in the Marine Hospital. Some slaves attended schools taught by free Blacks. Before Julian Frotaine, a free Black man from San Domingo, opened a school in 1819, some of the free Blacks sent their children to schools in Charleston, South Carolina. Frotaine openly conducted his school from 1819 until 1829, and then secretly until 1844. Jane Deveaux, a free Black taught Blacks secretly in her home from 1836 to 1864. The Reverend James M. Simms, a Black minister, taught Blacks to read and write in the 1840's despite

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the law forbidding it. He was whipped publicly when city officials discovered him. Undeterred, he continued teaching until he was fined $100. He refused to pay the fine and went to Boston, where he stayed throughout the war. Other Blacks taught by whites attended class sessions in clandestine fashion. Susie K. Taylor was taught to read by white classmates, but she always went to class in fear. She wrapped her books in paper so that whites would think she was carrying her lunch. Before the whites would teach Miss Taylor, they made her solemnly promise that she would not reveal the source of her education to anyone with the exception of her mother.

From 1833 to 1850, public sentiment on the education of slaves changed radically in Savannah and all Georgia. In 1850, F. C. Adams, a white liberal, wrote a series of articles for the Savannah Morning News advocating the education of slaves as a means of increasing their value and making them more loyal to their masters. The Georgia Agricultural Convention discussed the subject in 1850, and in 1851 it petitioned the legislature for permission to educate slaves. In 1852, the Georgia House of Representatives passed a bill repealing the 1829 law, which the Senate rejected by a narrow margin. Public sentiment had changed in Savannah because it was more difficult to prevent Blacks from learning to read in a city, and because so many masters simply broke the law. As a result of the change in sentiment, city officials began to inflict lighter punishment on Blacks caught teaching slaves. When officials discovered in the 1850's that James Porter, a free Black was teaching Blacks to read and write in his music school, they declined to punish him.[1]

Despite legal restrictions and despite contentions on the part of Southerners like John C. Calhoun that Blacks could not be educated, Black slaves had received education in various parts of the South. It is remarkable how frequently the laws against the teaching of Blacks were disregarded. Whites became excited over the distribution of abolition literature in the South, but they gave little real attention to preventing slaves from learning to read and write. Some owners taught their slaves themselves. In some cases, when owners were opposed to their slaves' receiving instruction, the owners' children taught them.

While some Blacks had acquired a rudimentary education as slaves, more than ninety percent were illiterate in 1865. Although Georgia did not make any provisions for tax-supported schools until 1870, Chatham County received a charter from the legislature to establish public schools for white children in 1866. Because of financial problems and public indifference, the Chatham County Board of Education did not begin to establish schools for Blacks until 1872.[2] From 1865 until 1872 Blacks and Northern missionaries made strenuous efforts to educate Blacks. A few days after Sherman entered Savannah, Blacks organized the Savannah Education Association, and a finance committee. In January 1865, John W. Alvord, secretary of the American Tract Society, and James Lynch, agent of the American Missionary Association and later Mississippi secretary of state, together with John French, examined candidates for teaching positions, and found ten Blacks competent to teach. Acquiring the use of Bryan's Slave Mart and the Oglethorpe House from General John W. Geary, the Savannah Educational Association

opened two schools on January 10, 1865, with about five hundred students. Blacks also had a Black Board of Education to determine school policies, but this board was just an extention of the Savannah Education Association, which collected and spent $900 for educational purposes in its first year of operation.

After the Civil War, however, many missionary-minded individuals and agencies joined Blacks in their efforts to provide an education for every Black child. Answering appeals from James Lynch and John Alvord, Northern aid societies sent teachers and supplies to Savannah. The American Tract Society sent a supply of books. In April 1865, Reverend S. Magill, agent of the American Missionary Association and a native of Georgia, brought books and teachers to supply the Savannah Education Association schools and to open others. By the end of 1865, the American Missionary Association was financing five schools, the New York Society of Friends and the National Freedmen's Aid Society two, and the New England Freedmen's Aid society one school, in Chatham County. The Methodist Church and the Catholic St. Joseph's Sisters opened schools in 1869.[3] It must be remembered that most Black schools had poor facilities, inadequate supplies, and too few teachers, but Blacks attended the schools in larger and larger numbers. Those responsible for extablishing these schools made a significant contribution to the adjustment of Blacks coming out of slavery.

The subjects most generally taught were spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Grammar, geography, history, music, and sometimes sewing were taught in some of the advanced classes. The teachers used a variety of textbooks. Perhaps the only common

textbook used by all was the Bible. Other textbooks included: Davies' Primary Arithmetic; Monteith's Geography; Parker and Watson's Reader: The National First and Second Reader; McGuffey's Reader; Callus & Fitche's Geography; Barnes and Burr's Reader; and Lander's Speller. Most of the teachers relied heavily on oral instruction. Many of the students were taught be incompetent teachers in small, ill-equipped classrooms, but the schools of the Savannah Education Association and the American Missionary Association generally had well-trained teachers and adequately equipped classrooms.[4]

The initial desire of the Blacks for education impressed many observers. John Alvord wrote on January 11, 1865, that Blacks in Savannah had "a passionate desire for education."[5] On March 25, 1865, the Savannah Republican noted the "earnestness and avidity with which these liberated people seek information. All manifest a desire to learn."[6] Similarly, Charles Coffin wrote that Blacks in Savannah were "eager to obtain knowledge."[7] As a result of their eagerness to learn, the educational efforts of the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau and agents of northern societies had little difficulty in convincing Black parents of the importance of education.

Some of the Blacks who conducted private schools also told of the eagerness with which the Blacks sought education. Susie K. Taylor, who, as mentioned, was secretly taught to read, said that Blacks showed an "unexpected desire" to learn in 1862. In that year, Northern soldiers transferred Mrs. Taylor and other Blacks from Savannah to St. Simons Island when the Union bombarded

Fort Pulaski. When the captain of the ship transporting the Blacks discovered that Mrs. Taylor could read, he appointed her as instructor of the other Blacks aboard the ship. The captain secured books and supplied from the North, and Blacks on St. Simons Island studied with great interest, even during the turmoil of war.[8] After the war ended, Mrs. Taylor opened a school in her home in Savannah. She enrolled twenty students and charged one dollar per month for each pupil. The students seldom missed paying the dollar, and some had to be turned away because Mrs. Taylor could not handle more than twenty. Several other private schools had many eager Black students.[9]

According to E. A. Cooley, superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau schools, a number of schools were established to take care of the large number of Blacks who sought an education. Northerners established schools in the basement of the First African Baptist Church, and Blacks used the facilities of the Georgia Infirmary after public schools began. Other schools in 1866 included the Lamar and Andrew School at Andrew Chapel; Bryan School at the First Bryan Baptist Church; the Oglethorpe School, located at the Oglethorpe College building. Superintendent Cooley reported that there were about 450 pupils who attended the Oglethorpe school daily, 250 females and 200 males. The ages of the students range from five to twenty years. After a visit to the Oglethorpe School, Cooley noted that the students devoted about five hours daily to their studies. They took their lessons seriously and apparently appreciated the free education that Oglethorpe School offered them.[10] The Oglethorpe School soon out-grew its physical facilities and moved to the Style Building, at 18 Fahm Street, the home of the

Oglethorpe Medical College during the Civil War.

The Blacks were proud of their schools and had great respect for their teachers. Black adults encouraged their children to attend school and matriculated in large numbers themselves. For example, one week after Reverend Magill opened a school in one of the Black churches in April 1865, 300 children and 118 women enrolled. After their initial restlessness in class, many of the children began studying with great eagerness and made commendable progress.[11]

Whites in Chatham County had mixed emotions about educating the Blacks. Some of them strongly opposed education for Blacks. Southerners felt that the "New England school mams" would teach Blacks about social equality. Some of the "school mams" feared that they would be attacked by enraged whites, but there is no record of violence against teachers or the destruction of schools in Chatham County.[12]

Although education for Blacks was generally opposed by conservatives in North and South, some native whites in Savannah and the South in general accepted Blacks as freedom and urged that they be assisted in developing a school system--separate from whites, to be sure. This small group of whites reasoned that demands of justice required education for Blacks, which would help advance them to a plane equal with other citizens. A few thought that Blacks should have access to education because, uninstructed and free, they would constitute a grave danger to society. Some argued that rudimentary training was necessary to equip the Blacks to perform the common labor to which nature had consigned them. Scattered

individuals were so favorably disposed toward the new education that they gave aid to the missionary societies.[13]

In fact, there were some whites in Savannah who openly advocated the education of the freedom. Elias Yulee, who taught in a Black school in 1873, advised Blacks in 1868 that it was their duty "to earn your wages in labor, to secure it to yourselves to use it in the promotion of your happiness, the education of your children, and the support of your churches."[14] A few planters, bowing to pressure from Black tenants, donated land and buildings to the Blacks for schools. The general attitude, however, was one of indifference. Whites did not greatly care if Blacks obtained education, as long as the white man himself had an education. Many whites, however, were unable or unwilling to educate their own children. For instance, only 675 of Savannah's 2,000 white children of school age were attending school in 1865. Nevertheless, whites generally refused to send their children to the Black schools, there being only ten white students in the Black schools in 1868.

Confronted by white indifference from 1865 to 1872, the Blacks maintained their schools with difficulty. There was a chronic shortage of funds, books, supplies, and school rooms. The Freedmen's Bureau helped to relieve the shortages by furnishing provisions to the teachers together with rent-free buildings. Black ministers helped to relieve the building shortage by allowing teachers to hold classes in their churches. A number of Blacks ran private schools in their homes. Shortly after the war, Alfred E. Beach, prolific inventor and editor of the Scientific American, donated funds to the American Missionary Association to purchase a school

site in Savannah. In 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau built Beach Institute on the site at a cost of $13,000. In the same year the Savannah Education Association added a $3,000 teachers' home to the institute.[15]

Since there were few qualified Black teachers when Beach Institute opened in 1867 most of the faculty was made up of whites from the North. Not more than three members of the faculty were Black. This did not disturb those Black families who sent their children to Beach Institute, for most of them were upper-class Blacks who patterned their lives after whites, and consequently felt that white teachers could do a better job of educating their children.[16]

Beach Institute included primary and intermediate departments. There were also grammar, elementary, and normal departments. The text books used included Appleton's Reader, Robinson's Arithmetic, Harper's Geography, Reed and Kellogg's Grammar, Barnes United States History, Loomis' Algebra, Gray's Botany, Coleman's Alcohol and Hygiene, Gow's Morals and Manners, Steele's Physiology, Maury's Physical Geography , Wickersham's School Economy, and Collar and Daniel's Beginner's Latin Book.[17]

Beach Institute reflected the strong Puritan influence of its sponsor, the American Missionary Association. The school administration relied upon a strict disciplinary policy, and students were drilled daily in the teachings of the Bible. No smoking was allowed on campus, and any student caught violating this rule was suspended. Likewise, students were forbidden to use "low and profane" language. Students were also expected to conduct themselves in an orderly manner. Any student arriving on campus after 9:00 A. M. was not allowed to

enter, for the gates closed at exactly that time. "Special arrangements" had to be made with the principal if a student expected to come to campus after the gates were closed. [18]

When Beach Institute opened in 1867, numerous private schools in homes were forced to close. For instance, Susie K. Taylor lost the majority of her students because Beach Institute held night sessions, while still offering its regular sessions during the day. It was expected however, that many Blacks would leave the private schools since the institute offered a wider variety of courses and employed better-trained teachers. Surprisingly, Beach Institute charged an average of only one dollar per month, approximately the same amount Blacks had paid private tutors. [19]

The financial problems facing Blacks schools in general were more difficult to solve than those of a classroom shortage. Though students were charged tuition at some schools, supplies had to be obtained for the schools from other revenue. The freedmen and the aid societies had to pay monthly teachers' salaries ranging from $15 to $35 for 38 teachers in 1865; 21 teachers in 1868; and 17 teachers in 1870. Still, the monthly tuition of $1 to $2.50 charge by most schools placed a heavy financial burden on Black parents. In some rural areas the schools had to be supported almost entirely by Northern aid societies. The later decline of Northern financial support left an even heavier burden on the Blacks. By 1871, the only societies which maintained schools in Chatham County were the American Missionary Association and the St. Joseph's Sisters. Few of the small, under-equipped, haphazardly run private schools established by Blacks lasted more than four years. Thus, the number of Black schools in Chatham County declined from 13 in 1865 to five in

1870. Similarly, the number of Black students declined from 1,877 in 1865, to 672 in 1870. More than 8,000 Savannah Blacks over ten years of age were not able to read in 1870.[20]

With the decline in Northern support, Blacks began to put political pressure on the Chatham County Board of Education to organize public schools for Blacks. Complaining that they received nothing for poll taxes that they paid in the 1870's Blacks held mass meetings where they vowed not to vote for candidates for city office who opposed public education for Blacks. This pressure from Blacks resulted in a change in the negative attitude of some whites toward the education of Blacks. One reason for the development of a more favorable attitude toward the education of Blacks was the fact that throughout the 1870's Blacks paid more poll taxes than whites, and these poll taxes were used to support schools. Blacks regularly reminded city officials of this fact.

As a result of political pressure and the change in public attitude, in 1872 the Board of Education began to consider the establishment of public schools for Blacks. There was correspondence that year between the Board of Education of Savannah and the American Missionary Association of New York, relative to the establishment of schools for Black children in the city and county. The Board tried to secure the Beach Institute building for the purpose of establishing a free public school for Black children.[21] On August 15, 1872, board members met with William Claghorn, a veterinary surgeon, William Pollard, a baker, and other prominent Savannah Blacks, and decided to try to convince the American Missionary Association to transfer Beach Institute to the board. A committee was appointed to

inquire about the terms upon which the Board of Education could obtain the Institute for the purpose of educating Black children. The board received a letter from the American Missicnary Association through its secretary, C. M. Cravath, making the following proposition:

> That if they (the Board of Education) will employ Mr. A. N. Miles, the Superintendent, and his corps of teachers at such salaries as are paid to other teachers in the city schools, and make Beach Institute a free public school, we will grant the use of the building and school furniture and apparatus without rent for the coming year. 22

On September 9, 1872, the board agreed to accept Beach Institute for five years without rent and to use it for the free education of Black children in the city and county. The board then sent the American Missionary Association its terms for accepting Beach.

1. The building, its appurtenances, teachers, pupils, etc., to be under sole control and management of the Board of Education as in the case of the public schools, and school houses now under their direction.

2. Mr. Miles, the present principal to be retained, provided he comes up to the requirements of the position and affords satisfaction to the Board, but the position to be open to any competitor who may be superior to him in fitness for the place.

3. Salaries of teachers appointed by the Board correspond with those of similar grades in public schools, but the number employed to be within the descretion of the Board. The Board will not bend itself to take over the whole corps of teachers now in Beach Institute (sic), even if they should come up to the standard of requirements, the Board reserves to itself the right to divide the appointments with applicants in our own midst who may prove meritorious and deserving. Savannah, having to foot the expenses of tuition, etc., involved in the education of children should have a representation in the instruction of the same.

4. The Board will not object to the use of Beach Institute building for religious services on the Sabbath, under the auspices of the Reverend Robert Carter, or

any other reliable person, provided, always that said religious services are not to interfere with the regular system of program involved in the school hours of the pupils, on occasions other than the Sabbath.

5. The Board under the foregoing arrangement, will agree to educate the colored children of the city, of Savannah under the same rules and regulations as are now or may hereafter become applicable for the instruction of the white children of the city, to the extent of the capacity of Beach Institute in its accomodations of pupils. During the Board control of Beach Institute, it will keep the building under proper repair, and insurance. 23

R. D. Arnold, President
Board of Education

The American Missionary Society declined to accept the board's terms. A reply turning down the offer was sent to Richard D. Arnold on September 18, 1972. [24]

The board did not allow its failure to secure the Beach Institute to deter it from establishing some kind of educational system for Blacks. The board's report for the following year indicated that a Black school was established at the corner of Macon and Lincoln Streets, which received a grant of $800 from Peabody University. Not a cent came from the state for this purpose. Three hundred fifty-four students enrolled. The board also announced that a school for Blacks was established in the western part of the city. Finally, in 1875, the board succeeded in securing Beach Institute from the American Missionary Association.[25] By 1875, there were 2,070 Black students and 2,502 white Students in the public schools, In that same year there were more than 3,600 Blacks and 1,800 whites of school age who were not attending public schools. While a large number of white children were in private schools, most of the Black children had no schools to attend. Consequently, Blacks continued to petition the Board of Education for more schools for Black child-

ren. In 1876, Blacks organized a free private school in St. James Tabernacle for Black children who were not attending the public school. [26]

Savannah was the first city in Georgia to establish a public school. On December 18, 1866, an ordinance was enacted which established the Chatham and Savannah school system, for white children only. On December 28, 1866, a permanent Board of Education was established for Savannah and Chatham County. In 1869, the Board operated the public schools for white children only, because the missionary societies had not consented to a transfer of the Black students under their jurisdiction. [27.] In Chatham Superior Court, in October 1878, the charter of the Board of Education of Savannah was amended so that its authority was expanded to control Black public education. The charter read in part:

> It is, therefore, ordered by the court that the charter of the Board of Public Educatic for Savannah and Chatham County be, and the same be h e amended, so that section first of the act of the General Assembly of approved March 21, 1866 shall read: Whose design and purpose shall be the direction, management, and superintendence of public education of all children of African descent as well as white children in the city of Savannah and county of Chatham between the ages of six and eighteen years.

Though the board's authority was extended to control Black education in Savannah, money problems facing the education of Blacks continued until the turn of the century. For instance, Superintendent W. H. Baker admitted in 1872 that Black schools created in that year were inadequate compared to white schools. He reported that the progress of Black students was satisfactory, but certainly not good enough. In his words, "They evinced an earnest desire to obtain an education, and developed a healthy attitude for learning"; "but much had to be done before Black schools could be brought up.

to the level of schools for whites. He asserted that twice the number of Black students could have been enrolled in school if the physical plant had been available. [28] School reports for the years 1873 through 1896 show virtually the same inadequacies of school facilities and lack of buildings for Black students. The Board of Education continued to make allotments for white schools, but made small provision for Black children. In 1892 classroom space was still a major problem. At least 800 students were turned away because of lack of room in the two existing Black schools. [29] Earlier, in 1876, the superintendent reported that five new district schools were constructed to take care of all white students, but only two were built for Blacks, even though the number of Black students enrolled vitually equalled whites. [30]

When the superintendent made a visit to the public schools in 1894 and 1895, he found writing neglected in the Black schools. The children had to kneel on the floor and write on their seats. The school term in the county was shorter than in the city. The white county school term was eight months, and the Black school term six months. By 1895, there were 36 county schools, 12 white, and 24 Black institutions. These were located from three to five miles apart so that each community of the county was within reach of a school and so that no child would be compelled to walk more than two and a half miles to school. Though there was a larger number of schools for Blacks than for whites, Black schools were generally less adequate in every way.[31]

The superintendent reported for 1894 on a number of factors that retarded the efficiency of the public schools:

> The growing tendency to engraft upon the public school system every kind and variety of work appears to me unwise in the last degree, and must necessarily result in imparing the efficiency of the schools. Cookery, embroidery, carpentry and many other things, however important in themselves, do not legitimately come within the purview of public education. There is no time nor room. Even as at present constituted, the curriculum is too crowded. In the vain attempt to teach so many subjects, none is properly taught....Is it not better to have a few things well, than to have a superficial, and a meager knowledge of many? A continuance in the now popular idea of encumbering the course of study in our schools with a multiplicity of subjects must inevitably result in a progeny of socialists. Several causes stand in the way of efficiency.
>
> 1. Lack of funds.
> 2. Teachers have too many pupils to the class. There should not be more than forty to a class. Where such large numbers are to be taught it follows that the individuality of pupils cannot be respected. And every true educator knows at what expense this is neglected.
> 3. The great preponderance of female over male teachers in the schools is noted...for the highest development of mind and character, there are needed, also, the hand and work of a man. In the management and instruction of boys, especially, it is desirable to have male teachers. The superior culture and refinement of a lady too often fail to be appreciated by this important class of our people. It is no universal thing for superintendents to receive requests from parents to have their sons placed under the discipline and tuition of a man. Even in the case of girls I think it is important that at some point in their education, they should have the instruction of a male teacher. Ninety percent of the teachers in our schools are ladies.[32]

Blacks in Savannah also spoke critically of the poor condition of their schools. For instance, Robert W. Gadsden, principal of East Broad Street School, called attention to the fact that the Board of Education rented various places to house the Black pupils. Principal Gadsden said he and other Black citizens urged the board to build a school for Blacks, but the Board refused and rented part of a church building on Russel and Maple Streets.[33]

The strongest criticism of the inadequency of Black schools came from Sol Johnson, editor of the Savannah Tribune. In an editorial on October 8, 1892, he called attention to the reluctance of the Board of Education to provide more facilities for Black children. Black citizens on numerous occasions selected an area where a school could be built and presented the plan to the board. Each time the board members said that the area was too small or gave some other reason for not constructing a school. Editor Johnson concluded that Chatham County was the second richest county in Georgia. Since this was the case, he could find no practical reason for the board's refusal to provide better facilities for Blacks. If cities like Augusta, Athens, Macon, and Rome could establish fairly adequate facilities for Blacks, then Chatham County should be able to do the same, he said. [34]

Johnson charged that Blacks did not get their share of public funds. He claimed that he had the names and addresses of numerous Black children who had been turned away from school because of the lack of space. These children would now roam the streets, and some would probably become criminals. Johnson placed the blame for this sad state of affairs squarely on the shoulders of the Board of Education. Finally, he noted that Blacks of Savannah were not asking all-new schools like whites, but Blacks unquestionably needed to have more of a share of the school funds.[35]

The Board of Education did allocate more funds to white schools than it did to those for Blacks. But it must be remembered that there were varied reasons for the lack of public funds for schools for both races. Four years of war had left Savannah exhausted. The diversion of all energies to the prosecution of the war deprived

the city any possibility of progress and left it impoverished. We had devestated wide areas, among them the most fertile soil of the south. In addition, a source of despair was the destruction of the labor system upon which the plantation depended.[36]

These factors partially explain the hesitation of whites in Savannah and Southerners in general to embark upon any extensive public school program. Of all the objections to the legislation of Reconstruction, that having to do with increased taxation provoked the strongest opposition. The tax burden fell chiefly upon land-owners, who saw their taxes being used for the support of a system designed to educate the children of their former slaves and present tenants. With their long held preference for private schools, the plantation class felt a double sense of injustice. Under a public school system, owners would be obligated to pay through their taxes the expenses for schools for blacks while, in many instances, their own children continued in private schools.[37]

The reluctance of conservative whites in Savannah to support fully the education of Blacks did not dampen the enthusiasm of others who tried to establish schools for Blacks. Northerners, religious missionaries, and philanthropic organizations took up the battle-cry to aid Blacks in their effort to obtain an education. Northerners supplied books, materials, and teachers for youthful and elderly Blacks who were eagerly trying to prepare themselves for the opportunities that the Civil War had brought. Blacks did not depend wholly on the efforts of friendly whites, however. Here and there Blacks set up schools at their own expense, generally under a Black teacher. The enthusiasm generated by Northerners

and Savannah Blacks spurred local whites toward increasing their support for Black education. At times, the local Board of Education was reticent about allocating sufficient funds to Black schools, but moderate whites and uncompromising Black leaders would not allow the local board a moment's rest if it appeared that the education of young Blacks was being neglected. Consequently, Savannah tried to establish a system of schools for its Black citizens that was in many ways progressive and set a pace for education that many Georgia cities tried to imitate.

The establishment of schools set the stage for and created an atmosphere out of which Black Professionals would develop. Professional classes began to appear among Blacks to a substantial degree after the Civil War. The appearance of a class of Black professionals depended upon the presence of a permissive educational climate and the development of Black educational institutions which evolved chiefly from missionary and philanthropic efforts during the Reconstruction period. Charles S. Johnson in The Negro College Graduate and Carter G. Woodson in The Negro Professional Man and the Community noted, though, that some Black professionals appeared in the pre-Civil War period, but their numbers were very small and limited mainly to the free Black population.[38] Whereas free Blacks could enter some fields with a minimum of training, qualification for work in professional fields demanded more formal education. Education for Blacks was, of course, viewed with disfavor by whites, who controlled the socio-economic system.

The development of a professional group among Blacks is best indicated by the number of college and professional school graduates,

and Savannah did not have many Blacks in these categories. Georgia State Industrial College, in Savannah, was not established until 1891. This meant that the relative number of Black professionals in Savannah was not as high as in Atlanta, where there were four Black colleges emphasizing the liberal arts. Those Black professionals who made their homes in Savannah were usually graduates of Atlanta University. They included teachers, ministers, lawyers, doctors, newspapermen and politicians. The number of such professionals was very small at the end of the Civil War, but increased substantially by the 1880's.

Black clergymen and teachers appeared in Savannah as early as 1866. Physicians and dentists began to appear in Savannah and the South as early as 1870, but their numbers remained small. Between 1890 and 1900 the number of Black physicians doubled in Savannah.[39] Though a few Black lawyers were found in the South during Reconstruction period, the number of Blacks identified with the legal profession remained small and made slow progress. Legal practice for Blacks was fraught with economic insecurity. Not only were potential clients, in the main, comparatively poor, but too often the Black masses failed to patronize Black lawyers.[40] For this reason, Savannah never had more than four Black lawyers throughout the period 1865-1900. Black physicians were also extremely few. In 1893, there were ten Black physicians in Savannah.[41] Their practice was limited largely to Blacks, with few whites. Many physicians were also influential in local affairs because of their professional competence and their popularity. Some were also influential in politics.

Undoubtedly, the most talented and socially accepted Black physician in Savannah was Dr. Simon Palmer Lloyd. Lloyd developed one of the largest practices in Savannah and was also active in local affairs. The Savannah Tribune said on more than one occasion that Lloyd was one of the city's most "distinguished" physicians and was popular with both white and Black, but Lloyd realized that he could better help both himself and other Blacks if he could use his popularity to obtain an important position in the municipal government. Local Black Leaders in Savannah cooperated and threw their support behind him when he sought to become the first Black doctor appointed as city physician. Lloyd was reluctant to apply for the position at first, because no Black man had ever before held such a position in Savannah, but when he realized that he had considerable support from Blacks and moderate whites he did not hold back. Accordingly, three of Savannah's most distinguished Black physicians, led by Lloyd applied for the post on October 27, 1894. City officials felt that white physicians had adequately attended to the medical needs of Blacks and there was no need for Black doctors. Lloyd, however, stressed the fact that Blacks virtually equalled whites in population, and they expected a member of their race to be appointed as city physician. Blacks had just cast a substantial vote for Mayor Herman Meyers, who was elected in 1894. The mayor threw his support behind Lloyd, and the result was his appointment in 1895.[42] Blacks felt that this was a triumph, and moderates looked upon the appointment as a victory for harmonious race relations.

Lloyd was born in Savannah on June 16, 1866, the son of Josiah Lloyd, a successful grocer and at the time the oldest Black man in business in the city. He attended Atlanta University, graduating in the class of 1889, and after a year of teaching in Savannah he entered medical school at the University of Pennsylvania. He graduated with second honors in May 1893 and returned to Savannah to practice.[43] As city physician, Lloyd continued the same energetic pace he had followed in private practice. At the end of his first year as city physician, he had treated 6,712 Black patients and 224 whites. He had made 6,189 house calls, received 4,515 patients at his office, and issued 108 hospital permits.[48] Lloyd discharged his duties without any noticeable opposition.

When Lloyd left the city post, the Savannah Tribune claimed that he had made a commendable record as the city's first Black physician. Reflecting its middle class orientation, the Tribune also noted that Lloyd had grown in popularity with the upper classes in Savannah and had made himself even more popular as city physician than he had been in private practice.[44]

The one Black physician in Savannah who rivaled Lloyd in competence and popularity was Dr. Floyd Snelson, who must have come to Savannah about 1880, from McIntosh County. He worked with such leading politicians as Louis M. Pleasant, Louis B. Toomer, and John H. Deveaux, and was just as active in politics as he was in medicine.

Snelson got to know leading white politicians like H. Patillo Farrow and James Atkins, a Savannah lawyer. As a member of the Republican "leadership elite," Snelson attended all local and state Republican meetings, and was on committees, and influential as a

campaigner. As a friend of Louis M. Pleasant and John H. Deveaux, Snelson joined two men who represented a different kind of political leadership than the old Savannah Black politicians of Reconstruction days. Snelson and the new Black leadership of the 1880's were college graduates who often were more articulate and urbane than some of the leading white politicians. Shrewd in the art of political manipulation, Snelson's group was quick to push its interests at the first sign of disunity among whites in the Republican party. For example, Snelson was a member of the Black Republican caucus that took over the State Central Committee of the Republican party in 1882. Recognizing Snelson's loyal service to Republicans, the Black coalition nominated him for the office of comptroller general on a predominantly Black Republican ticket. Snelson received only 25,848 votes to the 119,222 votes cast for his white Democratic opponent, W. A. Wright.[45]

Overwhelming defeat did not dampen the spirit of Snelson. In 1884, he ran for the United States House of Representatives; together with the Blacks, C. L. Brown and James E. Hamilton. Because Republicans were hopelessly split by 1884, many Blacks voted for Democratic candidates. But the Democrats used every available means to defeat Snelson and his colleagues. Snelson received 395 votes, Hamilton, 401, and Brown 391. Their white Democratic opponents, William Gordon, Peter Reilly, and Gazaway Hartridge received 1,590, 1,579, and 1,789 votes, respectively.[46]

Snelson's political activities apparently did not interfere with mis medical practice. His popularity as a politican made him such a well-known man that many Blacks came to him partly because of his political popularity. The Savannah Tribune claimed that Snelson was

one of the more respected physicians and surgeons in the city. Because of his competence in medicine he reportedly had good offers from some of the leading medical institutions in Boston, New York, and Washington, D. C. The Tribune said that Blacks of Savannah needed Snelson and urged him to remain, which he did.[47]

Other Black physicians were Dr. G. McKane and his wife, Dr. A. Woodby McKane. The McKanes were two of the most dedicated physicians in Savannah. Mrs. McKane was the only Black female physician in all Georgia. McKane felt that helping his patients was more important than making a profit. McKane was the first Black physician in Savannah to work for a hospital for Blacks.[48] He felt that competent Black physicians could better care for members of their race than could whites. To make his dream reality, McKane, together with his wife, established the McKane Hospital in early 1893. The McKanes treated their patients at the hospital with so much care and competence that, it was said, their efforts were rarely equalled by those of any physician in town.[49] The institution, however, was more than just a hospital. It also conducted a training school for nurses. By training Blacks at the school, both men and women, the McKanes felt that those who succeeded in the program could go out in the community and give better medical care to Blacks who could not readily obtain the services of a physician. The Georgia infirmary, a hospital established for Blacks as early as 1834, had failed to establish such a program. When outpatients needed medicine they did not need to go downtown, for the McKane hospital also had a dispensary. Prescriptions were

filled for the smallest possible fee, so that those who needed medicine could obtain it.[50]

The McKanes also set up an advanced program for Black students who wanted to go on to more intensive medical training. This training program began in September 1893, and was both theoretical and practical in design. A student remained in the program for two years, and once he had finished he was prepared to attend some of the "best medical colleges in the country." Those who entered the medical program had to pass an entrance examination that emphasized a comprehensive knowledge of the English language.[51]

When McKane and his wife left Savannah in 1895 for Africa, the Savannah Tribune declared that Savannah Blacks hated to see them leave, for the whole community owed them a debt of gratitude. But the McKanes felt a "deep sense of duty and obligation" toward Africans, and left for Africa to do what they could. The McKanes had established a competent staff at the hospital, and it continued to function. Those who took up the task fulfilled one of the long-held aspirations of the McKanes by making the hospital a community project, cared for and supported by those it served. The hospital sponsored choral recitals, readings, drills, and other activities that allowed the community to participate and become a part of the institution by helping to support it.[52]

Necessity as well as initiative was responsible for such efforts at self-help. Race relations in Savannah deteriorated in the late 1890's especially, and whites began increasingly to resent Black physicians treating white patients, or white physicians treating

black patients. Hence, a measure was introduced in the city council in 1895 to compel Black physicians to treat Blacks only and white physicians to treat whites only. Black physicians and the Black community knew the whites' attitudes and decided to make more efforts toward supporting their own hospital. The attitude of the whites' created a racial climate in which Blacks felt they had best rely more on their own efforts. The attitude of the whites was paradoxical, for just two years earlier the mayor had appointed as one of four city physicians a Black doctor who treated a number of whites who showed no resentment toward the Black doctor.[53]

To be sure, Black physicians deplored the rising racism of the 1890's, but they could not deprecate some of the constructive results born of this disharmony, especially Black self-reliance. Patients who once went to white physicians now turned to physicians of their own race. With the increase in patients, many Black physicians now earned more, and Black patients discovered that their own physicians were usually competent and often the equals of the best white doctors. Several Black publications pointed out that the 1890's had brought a new appreciation for Savannah's Black physicians. By September 1893, the Tribune claimed that Savannah had eight black male physicians and surgeons, and one Black female doctor. A list of the more successful doctors included Jasper H. Bugg, T. James Davis, F. C. Snelson, W. C. Small, C. Bryant Wholly, G. McKane, F. C. Lambert, and C. A. Blair.[54] Kermit Smalls, in the Year Book of Savannah, confirmed the Tribune's claim that Savannah was a city where Black physicians had experienced a good deal of success, and Blacks had not had to worry unduly about their doctors'

leaving Savannah for better opportunities.

If Savannah could boast of its talented Black physicians, it could also speak with pride of its dentists. One of the first Black dentists to come to Savannah was Dr. F. C. Lambert. Lambert came to Savannah in 1887 and became one of the leading Blacks in the city. Lambert was born in Bermuda, British West Indies, and received his education there. Before coming to Savannah he taught school in Bermuda. When he came to the United States he went to New York to study dentistry, and afterwards he settled in Savannah where he practiced dentistry until his death in February 1900.[55]

Lambert advertised his business in such a manner as to give prospective patients the idea that he was a dentist who had expertise that could hardly be excelled. In January, 1889, the Tribune carried one such advertisement of Lambert's:

> All irregularities in teeth are corrected with perfection. Teeth are extracted without any pain. Whole and partial plates are covered with silver or gold. 56

Other Black dentists in Savannah included L. S. Parks, E. D. Bulkley, and Charles Backman.[57] Bulkley claimed that he gave "nothing but the best" treatment to his patients.[58] Backman was the leading Black dentist of the city after Lambert. While Backman also extracted teeth, he took a special interest in the making of artificial plates. He also sold his patients "tooth powder and tooth brushes" from a small dental sotre located beside his office.[59]

Along with its Black dentists and physicians, Savannah also had three Black veterinarians. The first Black veterinarian to develop a large practice was P. G. Perry, who set up practice in Savannah in 1874. The best qualified of the veterinary surgeons was J. F.

Frazier.[60] He had received some of his education in America, but had also studied in England in advanced programs for veterinary surgeons. Because of his high scholarship he was selected a member of the Royal college of Veterinary Surgeons. He came to Savannah in 1889 and became one of the more respected veterinarians in the city.[61] The other Black veterinarian who gained prominence in Savannah was William Pollard.[62]

Savannah Blacks who had legal problems usually carried them to white lawyers because they believed that the legal advice of whites was simply more reliable than that coming from Black lawyers. Savannah was not as profitable for Black lawyers as it was for Black physicians. Undoubtedly, another factor which was favorable to the growth of a large number of Black lawyers was the fact that Savannah simply did not have enough Blacks who were high enough on the political and economic ladder and who were also involved in expensive legal cases to make up a profitable clientele. Despite these drawbacks, Savannah had at least three Black attorneys between 1865 and 1900. The most successful was A. L. Tucker, whose office was located on Oglethorpe Avenue.[63] The other two Black lawyers were G. H. Miller and J. H. Kinckle.[64] Next to Tucker, Kinckle was the most successful lawyer, according to the Savannah Tribune. His office was located on Bryan Street, which was in an area heavily populated with Blacks.[65]

While Savannah's Black lawyers did not find the city the most profitable place for establishing a practice, such was not the case for Black newspapers. Like Black physicians, Blacks who established newspapers in Savannah found a ready reception in the Black community. To be sure, some of the publications lasted only briefly.

Others, however, lasted more than thirty years. The period from 1880 to 1900 saw the birth of several Black newspapers in Savannah. This was the time when racism reached a new intensity, and Blacks began to rely more on themselves. It was logical that they would also want to give voice to their views through their own publications.

The first Black publication in Savannah after the Civil War was the Southern Radical and Freedmen's Journal. It began publication in 1867 with James Simms as editor and owner. In 1868 Simms changed the name of his paper to the Freedmen's Standard. The Freedmen's Standard was larger than the Southern Radical and Freedmen's Journal. Simms was an able editor of both papers. However, he was so active in political and civic affairs that he did not have enough time for his newspaper.

The Freedmen's Standard was followed by the Savannah Tribune, founded in 1875 by Louis B. Toomer, L. M. Pleasant, and John H. Deveaux, three of Savannah's leading Republican politicians. The Tribune declared that it was "devoted to the advancement and elevation of the colored race. The Tribune will be firm in its advocacy of justice to the colored race, and will endeavor to teach them their duties as Christians and citizens.[66] In 1889, L. B. Toomer left the Tribune, and, 1890, John H. Deveaux was replaced as editor by Sol Johnson. Johnson was even more militant than Deveaux in denunciation of racial injustice. The Tribune was a Republican organ and was understandably militant, especially since it was a political party organ published by Blacks. The Tribune supported Black Republicans down the line, and many Blacks in Savannah followed the

advice of the Tribune.

The Tribune had an unfriendly rival in the Savannah Weekly Echo, which began publication in 1881. T. Thomas Harden was editor of this outspoken organ that took an independent position on political issues. Harden was a forceful and dedicated newspaper-man who took his work seriously. He felt that it was his responsibility to inform the Black community on all important issues and to take issue with any publication, black or white, if it tried to deceive Blacks. Harden's concern for Blacks paid off, for his publication became the largest Black newspaper in the state. No one who read the Echo could doubt the coverage and outstanding combativeness of its editor. For example, in 1882, Harden denounced H. Patillo Farrow, a leading white Republican, and other politicians who felt they could use Blacks as tools. He resented the fact that Farrow had the power to decide whether a Black man "was fit to be chairman of the Republican Executive Committee of Georgia or not." Harden continued:

> It is high time that the whitewashed Republicans, sorehead Independents and galvanized Democrats be made to take a back seat. We (Blacks) don't intend to beg our way out at this late date. Neither do we intend to worship disguised politicians, Independents, Republicans, and Democrats who expect to use the Echo as a tool. Those who expect to use the Echo as a tool will be sorely mistaken and will find it out in the sweet bye and bye. We are not running this Journal with the expectation to be led. To the contrary, we run it and are determined to lead... approach us right side up and with care, and you will be duly recognized. 67

Harden was unrelenting in his condemnation of Blacks who made a practice of "bribing and gagging" Blacks wko sought to lead fellow Blacks to first class citizenship. Harden also condemned Blacks

who accepted positions from white Republicans. He roundly denounced L. M. Pleasant, who was collector of the Port of Savannah, and derided Blacks who worked at the United States Customs Office:

> The most degrading position in the Savannah Customs House is cleaning spittoons, blacking boots, and holding cigar butts; and when our hightoned colored men accept a job under the bosses they are assigned such work. Are there no better positions for educated men? 68

Other Black publications in Savannah existed briefly during the latter part of the nineteenth century, but they did not gain the wide circulation of the Echo. The Savannah Phoenix began publication in 1886 as a weekly. Its editor, James Sykes, had worked closely with the Republican party during Reconstruction, and his paper not surprisingly devoted much space to politics. [69] Likewise, the Independent Republicans, which began publication in 1890, carried a great deal of political news. This paper was organized and supported by some of Savannah's leading Black ministers who were also active Republicans. Reverend L. M. Maxwell, a Congregationalist, Reverend Emanuel K. Love, pastor of the First African Baptist Church, J. B. Sheftall, Reverend J. B. Lofton, M. G. Robinson, and Richard Spencer were the largest stockholders in the enterprise. M. C. Christopher, former editor of the Southern Review, was selected as the editor and business manager. The office was located in the Guskenheimer Building in downtown Savannah. Typical of Black publications in Savannah, the paper was four pages in length and had eight columns.[70]

The very founding of the Independent Republican indicated that there was division within the ranks of Black Republicans in Savannah.

The Tribune was the standard bearer of Black Republicans in Savannah, but at times Black Republicans disagreed strongly. Dissident Republicans decided it would be best to establish an organ of their own. The Reverend Emanuel K. Love was a powerful Republican who had influence with Republicans, along with his close friend, Richard R. Wright, Sr., president of Georgia State Industrial College. These men collided occasionally with Sol Johnson, editor of the Tribune. In order to air their political views which they felt were not adequately represented in the Tribune, Love, Maxwell, and other dissident Republicans established the Independent Republicans.

Other publications in Savannah that were not so devoted to politics included the Masonic Eye and the Southern Banner, both founded in 1895.[71] The Baptist Truth began publication in 1900 and became one of the more influential Black newspapers in the state.[72] The Savannah Gazette was founded in 1901. Z. W. Banjamin and H. A. Hagler were the editors of the small but influential publication.[73] In 1906, the Pythian Advocate made its debut. The Advocate was organized and owned by J.W. Armstrong, W. G. Knox, J. C. Hamilton, J. W. Worthington, E. W. Sherman, E. W. Houston, and J. W. Whitaker. The Advocate Publishing Company's charter indicated that the Advocate would publish newspapers, periodicals, magazines, pamphlets, and books and all other materials when asked.[74]

Some Black newspapers were established because Blacks felt they were being discriminated against by the existing white newspapers. This was the case of the Labor Union Advocate. For example, the Evening Call, the organ of the Knights of Labor, was established in 1886 to voice the views of Black and white laborers, but it soon

became anti-black. When the Central Railroad hired Black laborers rather than whites because Blacks would work for less, the Evening Calls editor was indignant. He charged that whites had been fired because they were less docile than Blacks. The paper implied that Black laborers should not have been used to replace whites, because whites were "more kindred to the Board of whites that controlled the Central Railroad.[75] Behind the Call's fury was the dissatisfaction of the Knights of Labor with Black laborers. The Savannah Tribune called upon the Black Knights of Labor to investigate the position taken by the Evening Call and to sever their connections with the union if it appeared to be in their best interest.[76]

Black laborers who had their own union took the advice of the Tribune. Black laborers also established the Labor Union Recorder in 1886. The Labor Union Recorder, edited by I. W. Lewis, became a regular champion of the cause of Blacks. During the time that Lewis was editor, only Black Laborers were employed on the staff of the Recorder; but when E. J. Crane, a leading Black Savannahian, became editor in 1894, he fired most of the Black employees and replaced them with whites. When a white apprentice applied for work at the Recorder he was accepted, but when the white worker found that he would have to work under a Black foreman, he withdrew his application. Crane wanted the white man, so he placed him in a position where he would not have to work under a Black supervisor.[77]

There were Black printers in Savannah who had organized themselves into a union by 1893. Yet they had been unable to influence

the policy of the Labor Union Recorder.[78] This did not indicate, however, that the Black printers had no influence. The Black printers numbered twelve by 1893, and some were quite successful. John Brown and Clyde Hughes were highly successful. They printed materials for a large number of Black organizations from their shop on Barnard Street.[79]

Black newspapers and printers in Savannah cooperated with other Blacks in the state who tried to encourage Black publications. Most of Savannah's Black newspapermen attended a state-wide meeting of Black printers held in Augusta in 1892. Some of the officials elected were S. X. Floyd of the Augusta Sentinel, as president, and H. A. Hagler of the Savannah Advocate, who was elected first vice-president. A. O. Carter of the Black and White, was elected secretary, and Sol Johnson, editor of the Tribune, was elected treasurer.[80]

The participation of Savannah's Black newspapermen in the conference in Augusta symbolized the arrival of a definite class of Black professionals in the city. Black newspapers in Savannah were published by a group of college men who often rivaled white Black newspapermen in the quality of coverage they provided for activities in the Black community.[81]

A true class of Black professionals did not exist in Savannah prior to the 1880's. To be sure, there had been Black teachers, ministers, and physicians in Savannah before 1880, but they grew in number in that decade. In addition, during the 1880's those Blacks in the professional classes were largely college graduates. They were conscientious and set the tone of the Black community.

These Black professionals often were not only successful at their chosen professions, but also assumed positions of leadership in civic affairs and fought valiantly to secure the political, social, and economic rights of their people. Public education and Black professionals helped to build a strong Black community in Savannah. The education of the Black masses and leadership of Savannah's Black professionals served as a pillow of Black society.

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